Individuated family relationships and the instability of the marriage tie have other ramifications. Parental care-taking activities are minimal and are sometimes non-existent. Given the pattern of drinking and partying, children are frequently abandoned to the care of a hired baby-sitter for days at a time, or to an older relative, or to an elder sibling. If the party occurs in the household, children may temporarily be moved elsewhere, or they may simply be left to shift for themselves. Thus at crucial developmental stages children may find their identification with parents broken by alternating periods of presence and absence, and their affections given over to an older sister (the picture of the determined little twelve or thirteen year old "child-nurse" is a clear one) or to a grandmother. When parents are present, Klamath children are usually faced not only with minimal care and attention, but with indifference and aloofness. The father especially is dissociated from significant relationships, and both he and the mother are frequently given to unpredictable and alternating fits of love and anger. Thus within the nuclear family, there is little experience with consistency in role relationships. 593 855 [581] [181] [603] [155] [155]

Thus the first years of life are spent by the Klamath child in a loosely bonded, amorphous household group, and he has some lesser, but important ties to other kin. At age six the Klamath child attends a local public school. Reflecting the incohesiveness of the family group, these children are accustomed to lax, permissive controls of their behavior, and are not accustomed to confronting clear-cut, specific, over-riding standards of conduct. At the same time they are not accustomed to maneuvering opposite a single, stable authority figure. Yet these children are characterized also by a dependent craving for affection and attention which does, initially, facilitate adjustment to the school milieu. In contrast, they frequently anticipate rebuff. In later years the latter seems to be the stronger inter-personal need, and the growing child becomes increasingly characterized by a kind of defensive isolation from close personal contacts. This may be adequate training for participation in contemporary Klamath culture, but it hampers and restricts adaptation to the larger society. [602] 872 861 [593] [181] [155] [156]

In many respects the values and skills learned within the household to not adequately prepare the child even for school adjustment, with the requirement of regularity and time-mindedness. Similarly, the daily routine within the household may be such as to impede the child's getting to school on time, or it may throw the responsibility for attendance on very young children, or it may get him there unfed and, by school standards, improperly clothed. At the same time the child may have had recited for him, or he has surely overheard recounted, the myth of Klamath racial inferiority. Too frequently this belief in inferiority is assimilated as a segment of the growing child's self system, contributing in turn to his acceptance of poor performance, to a bitter rebelliousness, or to a destructive pride. The same experience reinforces the expectation of rebuff, if this time somewhat more consciously. In fact, in later school years the Klamath adolescent does meet with informal racial barriers in the areas of courtship and dating, for the path to inter-marriage with local Whites is not an easy one. 155 156 [871] [563] [582]

It is at this juncture, in early adolescence, that parental controls of the child are almost totally relinquished. Made thus culturally independent, the child may then enter high school and find that for the first time he has to compete with his peers, for there are few social promotions in high school. Because he is fully aware of his economic independence, and because of the other factors cited, the pattern is for Klamath children then to find themselves propelled into an adult status. The associated school phenomena at this juncture is a high 882 156 155 [871]

882 drop out rate of Klamath adolescents, a slacking of attention, and a decline
155 in test performance and grades.
156

891 Something of the character of adult Klamath concerns and behaviors has already
156 been suggested. Many work in only a desultory, disinterested fashion, and it
is unusual for a Klamath woman to have a full-time job. Thus self-concepts are
[461] not so closely bound to job or profession as are those of local Whites. In
1953, for example, it was found that 65% of adult Klamath were wholly or partly
434 dependent upon per capita payments for their livelihood. Whereas the reluctance
[462] of Klamath women to take outside work reflects the pressures on them to remain
in the home and the extent of their responsibilities there, it also reflects
the fairly secure economic position resulting from the special benefits of
tribal membership. Aside from the twice-yearly per capita payments, these bene-
fits include the privilege of year round hunting and fishing, medical care, loan
services, tax exemptions on land and privileged employment rights at the Agency.
[NLH] On the other side of the coin, outside of the Agency, the principal local em-
ployers are Whites, and for one reason or another they are very reluctant to hire
tribal members. In historical perspective, the development of tribal income paid
out in the form of per capita payments has paralleled the decline of Klamath
participation in the labor market. The contemporary Klamath do not work so often
nor do they work so steadily as did their parents and grandparents. There are
fewer Klamath loggers now than there were in the past, almost no business men now,
and fewer active ranchers and farmers.

434 In spite of shifting policies and personnel, the influence of the Klamath Agency
657 officials has been one of constant supervision over and intervention into the
affairs of Klamath individuals and groups. The controls over the expenditures
of children's funds was noted, and the same controls are exercised with respect
[241] to those tribal members who have been deemed incompetent. Yet the activities
of stable ranchers and farmers have also been supervised by extension workers,
[654] and efficient, prospering Klamath farmers complain that, with a good price decided
on and a buyer waiting, they have to await the approval of an extension worker.
Thus the adequacy of Klamath individuals is frequently in doubt, whether by ex-
perience with a particular tribal member's high style of living, or by policy.
657 At the same time in many ways the Klamath have been protected from responsibility
426 for their own actions. Payment for debts incurred with local merchants is an
example, for the reservation being under federal jurisdiction, goods unpaid for
could not be repossessed, nor could income be garnisheed. As Stern and Swanson
phrase this situation, the Klamath have attained economic security "attended
by supervision."

657 Of course, through constant experience with Agency personnel and policy the
829 Klamath have learned that bureaucratic restrictions may be evaded or circum-
vented, and they have long since acquired knowledge of the appropriate manner
of phrasing a request for funds or services. The Klamath complain of this that
forced contact with the Agency has made liars out of them.

648 In summary, little more than a century of contact has merged the originally
177 distinct Klamath, Modoc, and Paiute, and has altered them physically, culturally,
171 and personally. In spite of a small assimilated minority and a large off-
reservation population, the reservation Klamath exhibit a distinct way of life
657 which is novel if heterogeneous. This Klamath Reservation Culture is the
familiar context of everyday experience for contemporary tribal members. Thus
181 it is the source of what stability and security they know. No matter how variant,
or how disorganized this pattern of life may be, it is one whose outlines are
the consequence of the thousands of daily decisions, the many lines of action,